DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 118 683 UD 015 716

AUTHOR Schofield, Janet Ward
TITLE Racial Identity and Intergroup Attitudes of Black Children in Segregated and Desegregated Schools.
PUB DATE 5 Aug 75
NOTE 28p.
AVAILABLE FROM Janet Schofield, Psychology Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260 (Reprints gratis)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Childhood Attitudes; *Identification (Psychological); Individual Characteristics; Minority Group Children; Morale; Negro Attitudes; Primary Education; *Primary Grades; *Racial Attitudes; Racial Integration; Role Perception; *School Integration; Self Concept; *Self Concept Tests; Self Esteem; Self Evaluation; Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

This study investigates two hypotheses: (1) that black children experience more conflict over their racial identity than white children, and (2) that black children are less likely to identify with occupational role models than are white children are investigated in this study. Drawings of a person by 167 black and 156 white primary school children are analyzed for indicators of (1) acceptance of racial identity (drawing a person who is clearly one's own race); (2) conflict over racial identity (failing to color in the face of figure drawn); and (3) identification with an occupational role model (drawing a figure whose occupation is apparent). As predicted, the figures drawn by blacks looked more like blacks than those drawn by whites. This is said to be suggestive of a new acceptance of racial identity on the part of black children. Black children also showed greater conflict over their racial identity and less frequent identification with occupational role models than whites. Twenty-eight of the black children participated in a second phase of the study, which is considered to confirm the validity and reliability of the draw-a-person test as a measure of acceptance of racial identity, and which investigates intergroup attitudes. The effect of school desegregation on black children is explored in both phases of the research. It is concluded that desegregation may be more easily accomplished in the very early school years than in later years when race has assumed more importance. (Author/AM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED118683

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Racial Identity and Intergroup Attitudes of Black Children in Segregated and Desegregated Schools

Janet Ward Schofield

August 5, 1975

University of Pittsburgh

UD 015 716

For reprints of this article write to Janet Schofield, Psychology Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

Running Head: Racial Identity and Intergroup Attitudes of Black Children

Abstract

Drawings of a person (DAP) by 167 black and 156 white primary school children were analyzed for indicators of: (a) acceptance of racial identity (drawing a person who is clearly one's own race), (b) conflict over racial identity (failing to color in the face of figure drawn), and (c) identification with an occupational role model (drawing a figure whose occupation is apparent). As predicted, and contrary to earlier findings (Dennis, 1966), the figures drawn by blacks looked more like blacks than those drawn by whites ($p < .001$) suggesting a new acceptance of their racial identity on the part of black children. Nonetheless, as predicted, black children also showed greater conflict over their racial identity ($p < .001$) and less frequent identification with occupational role models ($p < .05$) than whites. Twenty-eight of the black children participated in a second phase of the study which: (a) confirmed the reliability and validity of the DAP as a measure of acceptance of racial identity, and (b) investigated intergroup attitudes. The effect of school desegregation on black children was explored in both phases of the research.

Submitted August 5, 1975

Racial Identity and Intergroup Attitudes of Black Children in Segregated and Desegregated Schools

A large body of research accumulated since Clark and Clark's (1939a, 1939b, 1958) pioneering studies demonstrates the negative impact of racial prejudice and discrimination on the development of black children. Studies conducted throughout the last thirty-five years have consistently found that young black children tend to devalue blacks, to idealize whites, and to experience considerable conflict over their own racial group membership (Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950; Trager & Yarrow, 1952). In fact, numerous studies have shown that black children are so affected by the discriminatory social climate that they sometimes fantasy that they are white (Clark & Clark, 1958; Goodman, 1952; Horowitz, 1939; Moreland, 1963; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Yarrow, 1952).

Consistent with the above finding was the discovery by Dennis (1966) that when black children draw a person they rarely if ever portray a black. Between 1957 and 1962 Dennis (1966) collected drawings of a person from a very diverse sample of over 1,000 black children, ranging from children in desegregated elementary schools in New York and Maryland to those in segregated junior high schools in rural Mississippi. Drawings were even collected from male students at a black college. Although nearly all drawings were collected in classroom settings, the conditions under which they were produced varied considerably. For example, both black and white researchers supervised the drawings of the figures. Also, drawings from the older groups were generally done in pencil whereas those from the early elementary school populations were in crayon.

Dennis (1966) writes, "Nearly all the Negro drawing clearly represent whites" (p. 177). In all of the very varied subsamples the proportion of

students drawing black figures was extremely low. For example, less than 2% of the crayon drawings from the Maryland elementary school sample portrayed blacks (Dennis, Note 1). Dennis concludes his study of the black children's drawings by stating, "The inescapable conclusion appears to be that Negro cildren who draw a white man are drawing the appearance which they would like to possess . . . were (they) to possess pride in their own race and heritage, we assume they would draw Negroes" (p. 74).

It is important to note that Dennis' research as well as most of the other research suggesting that black children tend to devalue blacks and to identify with whites was conducted before the rather extensive social changes which have occurred in the last ten to fifteen years. Given the somewhat improved position of blacks in American society (Levitan et al., 1975) and the increased emphasis on black unity and pride (Campbell & Schuman, 1968), it is reasonable to expect that black children growing up in recent years would be more accepting of their racial identity than the black children of earlier eras. Hence, if Dennis is correct, young black children should now draw figures which are clearly different in race from the figures drawn by white children. This study was designed to see if such is the case.

Firm conclusions about changes in level of acceptance of racial group membership, as evidenced by changes in figure drawing, depend both on obtaining comparable data from two points in time and on showing that the race of the figure drawn reflects acceptance of racial group membership. This study has neither longitudinal data on individuals nor data gathered from the same schools as Dennis' data. On the other hand, given the diversity of Dennis' samples and the striking consistency of his results across samples, there is no reason to believe that Dennis would have found the black children in the schools and city studied here drawing black figures had he collected drawings from them. If black children in areas as different as

Brooklyn, Tennessee, and rural Mississippi all failed to draw blacks, there is little reason to suppose that those living in the Northeastern city studied here would have done so. Hence, the finding that a significant proportion of the children studied here draw blacks would suggest historical change. However, if one prefers not to draw even tentative conclusions about such change, the study can more conservatively be viewed as an exploration of the generality of Dennis' finding that black children do not draw blacks.

The use of the race of the figure drawn on the DAP as a measure of acceptance of racial identity is suggested by two lines of thought and empirical evidence. First, Machover (1949) has suggested that individuals reflect their self-concepts when drawing a human figure. Certainly, racial identity is likely to be an important aspect of children's self-concepts in contemporary American society. Although empirical findings on the validity of the DAP as a measure of self-concept have been mixed (Roback, 1968; Swenson, 1968), a number of studies lend clear support to Machover's theory (Alpheldorf & Smith, 1966; Berman & Laffal, 1953; Kamano, 1960). For example, Kamano (1960) found that judges' ratings of the characteristics of figures drawn by individuals on the DAP correlated significantly with the individual's ratings of themselves on those same characteristics. Also, Apheldorf and Smith (1966) showed that judges were able to match photographs of college students with figure drawings by those students with considerably better than chance frequency.

Although such studies suggest that the DAP can serve as a measure of various aspects of self-concept, the relationship between the attributes of the figure drawn and the self-concept appears to be influenced by the extent to which attributes of the self are seen as desirable. Dennis (1966) presents strong evidence suggesting that children draw figures which they and the social group in which they are embedded value. For example, in his large cross-

cultural study, he showed that even in areas of deep and pervasive poverty children rarely draw figures with overt signs of poverty such as patches on their clothes. Other evidence supports Dennis' point of view. For example, Prater (Note 2) found no relationship between hemiplegia and the size of the head and limbs in figure drawings. Hence it seems that the drawing of a person, while reflecting the self-concept, reflects primarily those aspects of the self which are desired or at least accepted. The above suggests that the drawing of a human figure should be a useful instrument for measuring acceptance of one's racial identity. If a child recognizes himself as belonging to a certain group and accepts or even values his group membership, the figure he draws should have the physical characteristics associated with that group. Similarly, if the child does not recognize and accept his group membership, his drawings would be unlikely to reflect such characteristics.

The DAP has several advantages over more traditional measures of acceptance of racial identity such as the very widely used doll test developed by Clark and Clark (1939b). The DAP is most probably much less reactive and threatening than the doll test since the issue of the child's race is not as obviously the issue under investigation. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, by forcing a choice between white and black dolls when all other variables are constant, the doll test may greatly increase the salience of racial categories and may make them appear to have an importance which they may not have in the child's moment by moment thought. The fact that the child correctly classifies himself by race when asked to says little about the subjective importance or the salience of the knowledge of his group membership. Since the DAP does not in itself raise the issue of the child's race, it is reasonable to argue that evidence of racial identity on the DAP is evidence of an acceptance of racial identity which goes well beyond the level of acceptance necessary to identify oneself as belonging to a group in the doll test.

Although the position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years and may have improved sufficiently to positively influence black children's acceptance of their racial identity, it is obvious that neither prejudice nor discrimination have come near to disappearing. The black child still lives in a world in which blacks are generally less well educated, less wealthy, and in positions of less responsibility and power than are whites. This continuing disparity between the social status and economic power of blacks and whites is probably great enough to cause black children some conflict over their group membership. In addition, the black child is still not in a position as conducive to identification with occupational role models, an important developmental event in elementary school children (Mussen, Conger, & Kagan, 1963), as is the white child. Identification with models is furthered when the model is perceived by the child: (a) as similar to himself, and (b) as controlling desirable resources (Mussen et al, 1963). However, the occupational role models who are similar to the black child in race are not likely to be in positions which would give them command over many resources. The white child, on the other hand, sees more models of his own race who control desirable resources.

The study reported here investigated two hypotheses suggested by the preceding discussion: (a) that black children experience more conflict over their racial identity than white children, and (b) that black children are less likely to identify with occupational role models than are white children.

The DAP was used to assess conflict over racial identity as well as identification with an occupational role model. If a child feels conflict over his racial identity, knowing that he belongs to one group but wishing he belonged to another, he should avoid the painful issue of race as far as possible when he draws a figure. Drawing a figure of his own race would be painful since it would remind him of an undesired personal attribute. Drawing a figure of another race would be gratifying only if the child were young enough to

lose himself completely in the fantasy of belonging to the other race. There is good evidence that children understand the meanings of racial categories and know which group they belong to by the early elementary grades (Clark & Clark, 1939a; Clark & Clark, 1958; Moreland, 1958; Porter, 1971). Hence fantasying membership in the opposite group is a potentially painful way of handling conflict over group membership for the first and second grade children studied here. Their fantasies are likely to collapse and then the unpleasant truth would become very salient.

One rather easy way for the child who feels conflict over his group membership to avoid the issue of race is for him simply to fail to color in the face of the figure he draws. This avoids the issue of race since most of the other body parts in the drawings of young children are either covered with clothes or drawn so simply that the color of the skin is not apparent. Thus, the hypothesis that black children feel more conflict than white children over their racial group membership was tested by comparing the frequency with which the faces of the figures drawn on the DAP were colored in by black and white children.

Finally, the figure drawings were used to assess identification with occupational role models. The drawing of a figure portraying an individual whose occupation was clearly indicated by its clothing or environment was taken as indicative of an identification with a role model in that occupation. This use of figure drawings is admittedly exploratory. However, it is entirely consistent with and, in fact, even suggested by the use of drawings as an indicator of self-concept. The child who draws a fireman most probably does not believe that he is actually a fireman. However, identifications with adult models are one of the primary constituents of a child's self-concept (Mussen et al., 1963). Hence, the child who identifies with the fireman is likely to believe that he shares valued attributes of the fireman, such as strength and daring. Therefore, in drawing a fireman, the child expresses his self-concept

by portraying the model who embodies these attributes for him.

METHOD

Part 1

Subjects

Subjects in the study were 157 black and 167 white children attending four public schools in a large Northeastern city. All children in the first and second grade classrooms of these schools on the day of the study were included in the sample except for a small number of children of Oriental or Spanish-American descent, who were not unambigously black or white as these terms are popularly understood.

Approximately one-half of the black children in the sample attended a de facto segregated school, School 1, in which 90% of the students and 50% of the teachers were black. The other half of the black sample had previously attended an almost identical school, School 2, only three blocks away. However, this school had been closed and all its students were being bussed to previously all white schools, Schools 3 - 5, in order to reduce racial imbalance in the school system. At the time of the study these students were in their first year of desegregated education. None of the previously all white schools had any black teachers. The ratio of white to black students in these schools ranged from 4:1 to 1:1.

It was not possible to obtain precise data on the socio-economic status of the individual students. However, Table 1 shows that the areas from which the two black schools had drawn their pupils were quite similar. Both areas were very heavily black, quite poor, and characterized by a relatively

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Insert Table 1 about here

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

high proportion of female-headed households. The areas which had traditionally been served by Schools 3 through 5 were working class neighborhoods with strong ethnic ties. As can be seen in Table 1, the percentage of female-headed households in these communities was markedly lower than in the black communities. Although the whites were somewhat better off economically than the blacks, the difference between the two groups was not striking.

The black and white samples contained roughly similar numbers of males and females and first and second grade students as did the black segregated and desegregated samples.

Administration of the DAP 1

While the teachers in each classroom read simple instructions to draw a person, the investigator passed out white paper and crayons. Crayons were substituted for pencils, which are usually used for the DAP, to facilitate accurate judgment of the race of the figures drawn. Each child received a box of eight new crayons, yellow, orange, red, green, blue, peach, brown, and black in color. The arrangment of the different colored crayons in each box was determined by a random number table.

Scoring Procedures

Drawings were arranged in a random order before scoring. The investigator and another judge who did not know the purpose of the study scored all drawings on three variables, race of the figure drawn, face coloring, and occupational role model. Reliability was quite high. Kendall's tau for the race of the figure drawn was .79. The phi coefficient was .92 for presence of a role model and 1.0 for presence of face coloring. When the two judges disagreed in scoring any variable a third judge scored the drawing. The rating given by two out of three judges was used in the analyses.

The categories and rules used in scoring the race of the figure drawn can be summarized as follows: (1) black, the face and all other skin shaded were colored black or brown, (2) probable black, the face was black or brown, but other parts of the skin were colors like green or blue, (3) possible black, some skin, but not the face, was brown or black, (4) indeterminant, no coloring of the skin or other indication of race, (5) possible white, some sign of being white, like blonde hair and blue eyes, but face unshaded and other skin areas colors like blue or green, (6) white, face and all other skin areas shaded were colors like yellow or peach, (7) fanciful, face and/or majority of skin areas were colors like red, green, or blue.

A drawing was scored as having the face colored in if at least 75% of the area of the face had been shaded.

A figure was scored as a role model if it appeared to represent someone in an adult occupational role such as a fireman, dancer, or school teacher. Clothing, distinctive physical positions, and objects in the figure's environment were all considered in scoring this variable.

Part 2

Subjects

A major aim of this part of the study was to confirm the validity of the measure used to assess acceptance of racial group membership. A secondary aim was to investigate the effect of desegregation on the intergroup attitudes of black children. The schools would allow retesting of only a small number of children. Hence, only black children were studied in Part 2. The number of black children showing a firm acceptance of their racial identity on the DAP 1 was quite small. Hence, a random sample of black participants in Part 1 would probably have included few of these children and would have had relatively little variation in scores on the

variable being studied. For these reasons a random sample of black Part participants was not taken. Rather, black children who had drawn either clearly white (6) or clearly black (1,2) figures were chosen for further study. These children were divided into four groups on the basis of the race of the figure they had drawn and the type of school they attended (segregated or desegregated). Seven children were randomly chosen from each of these groups using a quota sampling system based on sex and grade.

Test Administration

All children were tested individually at their schools by the investigator or a trained assistant, both young white women. Neither of the experimenters knew the race of the figure any child had initially drawn.

DAP 2. The procedures followed were the same as for DAP 1 with two exceptions. The experimenter rather than the teacher gave the instructions. Also, children were tested individually.

Playground tests 1 and 2. These tests were created to measure: (a) acceptance of racial identity, and (b) attitudes towards interracial interaction. In playground test 1 each child was shown a simple cardboard playground scene. Pictures of various toys were placed around the playground. Eight very similar pictures, two each of black boys, black girls, white boys, and white girls, were placed near the playground in a previously determined random order. Each child was told that it was recess and he should: (a) identify himself from the pictures provided, and (b) put all the children on the playground. Since the children constructed groups as they pleased it was possible to discover whether race was an important grouping criterion.

In playground test 2, children were presented with a choice among three previously formed groups, one integrated, one all black, and one all white. Each group consisted of small color photographs of two boys and

two girls. The size, expression, and clothing of the children in the various groups were comparable. Each group was randomly assigned to one of three positions on the playground before each child was tested. Next to the playground were four small color photographs, a black boy, a black girl, a white boy, and a white girl. Each child was told that these pictures represented children in his class and asked: (a) to identify himself, and (b) to place himself on the playground where he wanted to be.

Picture test of racial identity. This test was modeled on Clark and Clark's (1939b) classic doll tests. It consisted of four sets of two photographs each. Each set showed persons of like sex, age, dress, and expression. However, one picture in each set was of a black, the other of a white. The children were asked to indicate which of two photographs represented their mother, father, themselves, and an opposite sex sibling (or cousin).

Scoring Procedures

DAP 2. The race of each figure drawn was scored as previously described by judges who did not know what race any given child had drawn on DAP 1.

Playground test 1. The investigator and a trained judge independently determined the number of groups formed and the composition of each group. In the few cases in which the two judges differed, a third judge scored the protocol. The pattern agreed upon by two of the three judges was used in the analysis.

Playground test 2. Each child was scored as having joined the group nearest to the picture representing himself.

RESULTS

Part 1

Acceptance of Racial Identity

As hypothesized, the figures drawn by black children differed significantly from those drawn by whites. An analysis of variance using race, grade, and

sex as classifying factors showed that blacks tended to draw blacker figures than whites, F (1,271) = 70.41, $p < .001$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions. The mean race score for whites, 5.4, fell between possible white (5) and white (6) on the scale. In contrast, the mean score for blacks, 3.9, fell just to the black side of indeterminant race. Table 2 shows that nearly one-sixth of the black children drew figures which were quite

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Insert Table 2 about here

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

clearly black whereas no white children did so. On the other hand, about one-fifth of the black children drew clearly white figures as did over one-half of the whites.

To assess the effect of desegregation on black children's acceptance of their racial identity an analysis of variance was computed on the race of the figures they drew. Classifying factors were grade, sex, and school status (segregated/desegregated). Grade and sex showed no significant main effects or interactions. However, desegregated children drew significantly "whiter" figures than segregated children, F (1,124) = 5.74, $p < .05$. The mean score of the desegregated children was 4.3, between indeterminate race (4) and possible white (5), whereas the mean of the segregated children was 3.6, between possible black (3) and indeterminate race (4). This finding raises some disturbing questions about the impact of desegregation on black children's sense of identity.

Conflict Over Racial Identity

The hypothesis that black children feel more conflict over their racial identity than white children was also confirmed. Blacks were much less likely than whites to color in the faces of the figures they drew X^2 (1) = 19.5, $p < .001$. Only 40% of the black children colored in the face of the figures they drew compared to over 65% of the white children. This difference between

the blacks and whites was not due to an overall difference in the complexity of completeness of their drawings. The drawings done by black children did not differ significantly from those done by whites either in the number of body parts, F (1,316) = .56, n.s., or in the number of objects such as trees or houses drawn in addition to the figures F (1,316) = 2.32, n.s.

Identification with Occupational Role Models

The hypothesis that black children identify less frequently with occupational role models than do white children was also confirmed X^2 (1) = 4.0, $p < .05$. Approximately 8% of the white children drew occupational role models compared to only 2% of the blacks.

Since there are relatively few women in positions of power and prestige, just as there are relatively few blacks, it is not surprising that girls drew significantly fewer occupational role models than boys, X^2 (1) = 9.1, $p < .01$.

Part 2

Reliability and Validity of the DAP as a Measure of Racial Identity

The race of the figures drawn on DAP 1 correlated significantly with the race of the figures drawn several weeks later on DAP 2 in a somewhat different testing situation ($r = .53$; $df = 27$; $p < .01$). The test-retest reliability of .53 is rather moderate as is typically the case with projective measures.

The validity of the race of the figure drawn as a measure of acceptance of racial identity was explored by relating the race of the figure drawn on the DAP tests to the race of the persons later chosen by children as themselves and members of their families. Participants in Part 2 of the study had three chances to identify themselves by choosing from pictures of blacks and whites, one chance in each of the two playground tests, and a third chance in the picture test. In addition, the picture test provided three opportunities to choose either blacks or whites as family members. The number of blacks selected in these six choice situations correlated significantly ($r = .39$;

df = 27, $p < .05$) with the sum of the race scores on DAP 1 and DAP 2. The correlation between the two measures of racial identity was not notably strong. However, it seems large enough to support the contention that the DAP taps acceptance of racial identity.

The results presented in this section indicate that the DAP has a reliability and validity which though relatively low by many standards are reasonable for a projective test used for research purposes. However, further research on this use of the DAP is clearly desirable because of the nature of the sample participating in Part 2 of the study.

The Impact of Desegregation on Attitudes Toward Intergroup Interaction

In playground test 1, the children formed groups as they pleased from eight photographs of black and white children. Groups of five or more which necessarily included members of both races and both sexes were very uncommon. The groups of two, three, and four members were analyzed separately using binomial tests to see if the photographs were grouped by either race or sex with greater than chance frequency. For example, 19 of the 28 children created at least one two-person group. (If a child created more than one group of a given size, just one of these groups was randomly selected for inclusion in the analysis in order to meet the independence requirement of the binomial test.) If the 19 groups were constructed without regard to race, the expected frequency of racially homogeneous groups would be 8.2. The observed frequency, 6, did not differ significantly from the expected. Similar analysis of the three- and four-person groups showed no significant tendency to form or avoid forming racially homogeneous groups. On the other hand, there was a clear tendency to form groups which were homogeneous sexually ($p < .001$ for the four-person groups, $p < .05$ for the three person groups, and $p < .07$ for the two person groups).

Fischer's exact test showed no significant relation in playground test 1 between desegregation and the tendency to segregate groups by race or sex. However, desegregation did affect responses on playground test 2 in which the children had to choose between previously formed all white, all black, and integrated groups X^2 (2) = 6.29, $p < .05$. As Table 3 shows, segregated children showed no marked preference for any of the groups. In sharp contrast,

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

Insert Table 3 about here

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

the desegregated children avoided the all white group and chose the integrated group very frequently.

DISCUSSION

The finding that black children drew figures which looked more like blacks than the figures drawn by whites and that about 15% of the blacks drew figures which were quite definitely black is at variance with Dennis' (1966) earlier findings. The black grade school children in Dennis' extremely varied samples rarely if ever drew figures which even faintly suggested black persons. Since Dennis gathered his drawings in the late 1950's and early 1960's, there has been a marked decrease in overt discrimination and an increase in emphasis on the heritage and accomplishments of black people. These changes have most probably increased black children's acceptance of their racial identity and hence influenced their figure drawings. The impact of the 1960's on the drawings of older blacks is made clear by Dennis' (1968) finding that while only 4% of the drawings collected from makes at a black college in 1957 were of black persons, approximately 20% of the drawings from black males at the same college in 1967 portrayed blacks.

However, the data also suggest that black children are not yet as accepting of their racial identity as are white children. Not one of the

white children studied drew a black figure. In sharp contrast, black children were somewhat more likely to draw a white than they were to draw a black. An additional indication of the conflict that black children feel over their racial group membership is their marked tendency to avoid the issue of race by not coloring in the face on the figures they draw. Gerard and Miller (Note a) report the same tendency in their sample of figure drawings from over 3,000 elementary school children in California. White children in this sample were almost twice as likely to color in the faces of the figures were either black or Mexican-American children.

The finding that black children are less likely to identify with occupational role models than white children and that females of both races are less likely to identify with occupational role models than males suggests that the disparity between the positions held by different groups of adults in American society affects children at a very early age.

The fact that the segregated children drew "blacker" figures than their segregated counterparts raises the question of whether desegregation might have undermined the black children's acceptance of their racial identity. Pettigrew (1969) argues that in assessing the effects of interracial schooling it is important to distinguish between schools which are desegregated and those which are integrated. In the latter, but not the former, the interracial contact is characterized by conditions such as equal status which Allport's (1954) contact theory has suggested are crucial for positive outcomes. The interracial schools studied here were clearly only desegregated. For example, their administrators and faculty were entirely white and some openly expressed prejudiced attitudes. Hence, it is possible that the school experiences actually decreased the black children's acceptance of their racial group membership. The above suggests that interracial schools should pay considerable attention to creating a truly integrated environment in which

black children need not copy white children in order to gain praise and acceptance.

There are certainly other plausible explanations for the difference between the drawings of the segregated and desegregated children. The race of the figure drawn on the DAP, like almost all measures of psychological constructs, is probably influenced by factors in addition to the one it was designed to measure. One such factor of considerable importance in the case of the DAP might be the children's perceptions of teachers' and classmates' reactions to their drawings. Hence, the "whiter" drawings of the desegregated blacks may have been at least partially due to a desire to draw pictures which would win approval from teachers and white classmates rather a result of confusion or conflict over racial identity. The desire of the desegregated black children for acceptance by their peers was demonstrated in Part 2 of the study in which about 65% of these children chose to join an integrated play group. Also, the desegregated children may have tended to draw more whites than the segregated children because of the much higher proportion of whites in their school environment. Dennis (1966) argues quite convincingly that children's drawings of a person do not merely reflect the individuals with whom they are in daily contact. The fact that not one of the more than 150 white children in desegregated schools in this study drew a black supports this view. However, the possibility remains that at least some of the differences between the drawings of the segregated and desegregated blacks flow from the different proportion of whites in their school environments.

Although desegregated blacks tended to prefer an integrated group when choosing between previously existing segregated and integrated groups, neither segregated nor desegregated children paid any attention to race when forming play groups as they pleased. Rather, they showed a strong tendency to attend to sex, placing children of the same sex together. One of the children vividly illustrated the importance of sex as a grouping criterion relative

to race when asked which of two children, one black and one white, he would prefer to play with. After looking briefly at the pictures, the boy made a face showing extreme distaste and said emphatically, "Neither, I don't play with girls." These findings confirm Criswell's (1937) earlier conclusion that sex but not race is important as a grouping criterion in the early elementary years. Criswell's work also shows that race assumes real importance as a grouping criterion before the end of elementary school. Hence, desegregation may be more easily accomplished in the very early school years than in later years when race has assumed greater importance.

Reference Notes

1. Dennis, W. Unpublished data and personal communication, January, 1968.

2. Gerard, H. B., and Miller, N. Factors contributing to adjustment and achievement in racially desegregated public schools. Unpublished manuscript, 1971. (Available from H. B. Gerard, Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, California.)

3. Prater, G. F. A comparison of the head and body size in drawings of the human figure by hemiplegic and nonhemiplegic persons. Unpublished manuscript (Master's thesis), University of Kentucky, 1950.

References

Apfeldorf, M., & Smith, W. The representation of the body self in human figure drawings. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 1966, 30, 283-289.

Berman, S., & Laffal, J. Body type and figure drawing. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1953, 9, 368-370.

Campbell, A., & Schuman, H. Racial attitudes in fifteen American cities. In Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children. Journal of Social Psychology, 1939a, 10, 591-599.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. Segregation as a factor in the racial identification of Negro preschool children. Journal of Experimental Education, 1939b, 8, 161-163.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschool children. Journal of Social Psychology, 1940, 11, 159-169.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb, & E. Hartley (Eds.), Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1958.

Criswell, J. H. Racial cleavage in Negro-white groups. Sociometry, 1937, 1, 81-89.

Dennis, W. Group values through children's drawings. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.

Dennis, W. Racial Change in Negro drawings. Journal of Psychology, 1968, 69, 129-130.

Goodman, M. E. Race awareness in young children. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1952.

Horowitz, R. E. Racial aspects of self-identity in nursery school children. Journal of Psychology, 1939, 7, 91-99.

Kamano, D. An investigation on the meaning of human figure drawings. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1960, 16, 429-435.

Landreth, C., & Johnson, B. Young children's responses to a picture and inset test designed to reveal reactions to persons of different skin colors. Child Development, 1953, 24, 63-80.

Levitan, S.A., Johnson, W.B., and Taggart, R. Still a dream. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Machover, K. Personality projection in the drawing of the human figure. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1949.

Moreland, J. K. Racial acceptance and preference of nursery school children in a southern city. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, 1962, 8, 271-280.

Mussen, P. L., Conger, J. J., & Kagan, J. Child development and personality. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Pettigrew, T. Racially separate or together. Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25 (1), 43-69.

Porter, J. Black child, white child: The development of racial attitudes. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Roback, H. B. Human figure drawings: Their utility in the clinical psychologist's armamentarium for personality assessment. Psychological Bulletin, 1968., 70, 1-19.

Stevenson, H., & Stewart, E. A developmental study of racial awareness in children. Child Development, 1958, 29, 399-409.

Trager, H., & Radke, M. Children's perception of social roles of Negroes and whites. Journal of Psychology, 1950, 29, 3-33.

Trager, H., & Yarrow, M. R. They learn what they live. New York: Harper Brothers, 1952.

Footnotes

This research was supported by a grant from the Center for the Behavioral Sciences at Harvard University.

The author wishes to express her sincere thanks to Bruce Baker for his valuable assistance and to Wayne Dennis for making available his unpublished data on black children's drawings. She also wishes to express her appreciation for the very useful comments of Thomas Pettigrew and Robert Rosenthal on an earlier draft of this paper.

Table 1

Selected 1970 Census Data on the Characteristics of Areas

Served by Four Schools Prior to Desegregation

School	Characteristics of area served			
	Black %	Female-headed households %	Average rent per month ($)	Average value of houses ($)
1. Segregated black	93	49	73	Not available
2. Segregated black closed to desegregate students	81	39	77	9,880
Weighted average	87	44	75	9,880
3. Weighted average of all white schools now desegregated	0	12	67	12,100

Table 2

Race of the Figures Drawn (DAP 1) by Whites and by Segregated and Desegregated Blacks

Group	% Distribution of children on the variable race of the figure drawn						
	Black (1)	Probably black (2)	Possibly black (3)	Indeterminant (4)	Possibly white (5)	White (6)	Fanciful[a]
White (all)	0	0	0	17	15	55	12
Black (all)	12	3	9	30	10	18	16
Segregated	15	4	14	31	8	12	15
Desegregated	8	3	4	29	13	24	18

[a]Fanciful drawings were not given a value and were excluded from the analysis.

Table 3

Group Joined by Segregated and Desegregated Black Children in Playground Test 2

Group joined	Type of School[a]	
	Segregated	Desegregated
All white	5	0
Integrated	4	9
All black	5	5

[a] $\underline{X}^2 = 6.9$, $\underline{p} < .05$